



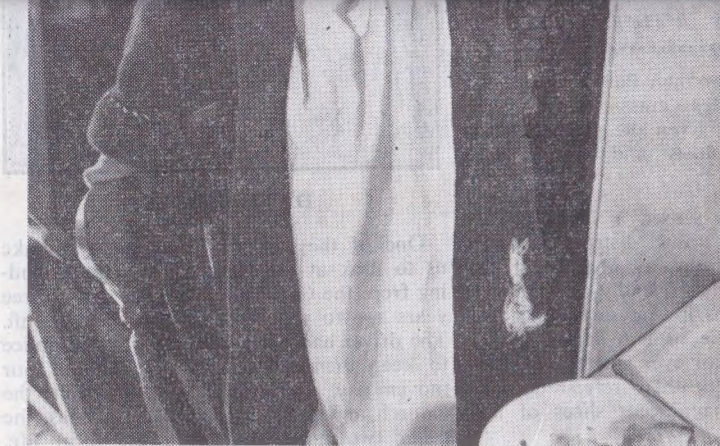
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...of the elementary school  
...at our district had  
...answered all our questions and  
...from doing anything.



See "Our Christmas Children"—page three.

Photos: Roger Mayne



# WITH DOLCI IN SICILY

A new chapter was begun on November 27, in the saga of Danilo Dolci—sometimes called the Gandhi of Italy—when the appeal court at Palermo, in Sicily, sentenced him to eight months imprisonment.

This followed the police prosecutor's appeal against the sentence of 50 days given in March, 1956, after the famous "reverse" strike of February 2. Then Dolci and his supporters led about 700 of the workless of Partinico in Northern Sicily, centre of the Mafia-dominated area, in a public demonstration of non-violent resistance.

Activated by Article Four of Italy's post-war constitution which states: "All citizens have the right to work and to promote conditions which render this right effective," men with shovels, but without the pocket knives usually carried to cut bread, proceeded to repair a public road which had been cut by a stream.

Two days previously they had fasted to, as Dolci said, "make their action clearer to all" and understand that any violence would discredit their demonstration. The leaders were called on by the police to tell the men to stop work and when they refused, were arrested.

There was no violence except that a newsman's cine-camera was broken by the police.

The original trial on charges ranging from "occupying

public land" to "using and inciting to violence," lasted a week. So many leading Italian liberals spoke in defence of Dolci and his pioneering social work that the case was widely reported.

Since then Dolci has been tried in Rome—and acquitted—on a charge of obscenity arising from publication in one of his books of first-hand accounts of the depravity of life in the slums of Palermo. He has also had his passport withdrawn following speeches earlier this year in several countries in Northern Europe.

Dolci's constructive programme has brought to Sicily volunteers from several countries in Europe. To make the best use of this support he has had areas of Western Sicily adopted by National Committees in the respective countries.

Italy has Partinico, Sweden Roccamena, Britain Menfi, Switzerland Corleone and Norway Cammarata. In addition, Dutch and German volunteers have been at work. Each committee has sent out, or is sending out, voluntary workers to share in the development of Dolci's Constructive Programme.

Dolci's overall plan is to get rid of the twin evils, unemployment and illiteracy, which have driven the people to banditry as a means of securing a livelihood. He aims to get dams built which will irrigate and enrich

new areas of land and so provide a new source of employment.

When the dams are built he will put in an Italian agricultural expert in a nearby town, who will hope to have two voluntary workers to cope with the problem of getting the children into school.

The experts will prepare experimental fields and show the people how to use water and manure. At present they don't even know how to plant potatoes.

An office for the British Committee has already been established by Dolci, out of the money he received from his Russian peace prize. The ultimate aim is for the British Committee to finance it.

Two British volunteers will go out as soon as they have been selected. It is hoped to find a married couple because it is difficult to overcome local taboos which forbid a man to approach a woman or vice versa.

Something of the background against which this work is being done is provided in a report prepared for the Danilo Dolci Corresponding Committee in Britain by Joan Sinclair, "Working with Danilo Dolci," from which the following extracts are taken.

The Committee was initiated by the National Peace Council's United World Education and Research Trust, whose address, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1, it uses.

THE nearest description I can give of the streets of Partinico is that they resemble a farmyard, with its broken cobbles in bad need of repair, mud and earth and dust everywhere, and piles of refuse, often evil-smelling, dotted here and there.

Occasionally I saw a dust-cart collecting up some of the rubbish from some of the streets. There is a slight rill down the centre of the streets where water trickles for a few hours each morning. It is turned off during most of the day in the summer, to preserve water, and you must fetch all fresh supplies from the fountains in a few places in the town, unless you are rich enough to have your own private water-pumping system.

The floor inside most of the houses in these streets is exactly the same as the streets themselves—broken cobbles and

You never go far without hearing someone yelling at someone, children whining as they run around, partially or completely naked, and often covered with running sores. The greater part of the women and children have never even seen the sea, although they may live within a few hundred yards of it. They just seem to sit around in front of their houses, looking after the most recent addition to the family, and cooking "pasta" (macaroni and spaghetti) because it stays the hunger better than the luscious fruit, salads and vegetables, which are just as cheap and just as accessible.

## Living with the poor

A young Italian couple, believing that example is the best method of teaching, is living in one of these hovels, with their young baby, and they say that already the mothers around are starting to copy their ways of child care.

Almost more upsetting than the sight of all the abject poverty, was the odd flowering creeper, potted plant or some other little decorative detail, testifying to the people's longing for beauty and their pathetic attempt to redeem their miserable little

all to see. I was told it was a deliberate policy to travel thus on public transport, in the hopes that it will impress and discourage any potential offenders.

Menfi is a delightful spot. A spacious, airy square overlooks a small formal flower-garden, and further in the distance is the wide sweep of the bay, with the sea a never-ending range of glorious blues, each one more intense and more lovely than picture postcard colours.

## Help at Partinico

It is much cleaner than Partinico and the poverty probably less crass—at all events it is less apparent. Even the poorer streets are cleaner, less dusty and mostly have pavements.

At Partinico one sensed a vague atmosphere of hostility and distrust towards Danilo and his group; at Menfi just the opposite. People were friendly and helpful. Many have relations in America and a few in England, and one or two spoke a little English. We were for ever meeting in cafés and being treated to their refreshing iced coffee and their magnificent slices of ice-



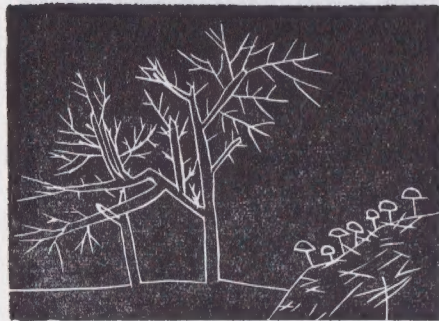
DANILO DOLCI

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A Sicilian child's drawing.

earth, even just earth at times, and of course no water is laid on in the houses. There are often no windows at all, and one family lives in a one-room house, which becomes pretty hot and stuffy in summer in temperatures of over 90 degrees.

If Partinico seems squalid and dilapidated on first arrival, it is clean and airy and light by comparison with the narrow, rotting back quarters of the nearby city of Palermo.

## Two faces of Palermo

Daniilo's first step in introducing newcomers to the problems, is to send them to look at what I call "the other Palermo"—for Palermo has two faces. The one with its broad, fine streets, elegant shops, beautiful gardens, majestic, historical monuments, bids high to place it amongst some of the most beautiful cities in Europe, if not in the world.

Leading from these fine streets and immediately behind the handsome buildings, are the narrow, dark, overcrowded alleys and squares, where the people are crammed like rotting sardines into their one-room dwellings, often several storeys of them one upon the other, where it is little wonder if tempers are frayed, knives flash at the slightest provocation.

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Almost more upsetting than the sight of all the abject poverty, was the odd flowering creeper, potted plant or some other little decorative detail, testifying to the people's longing for beauty and their pathetic attempt to redeem their miserable little corner. Despite the all-pervading dust of these parched, overcrowded streets, the insides of the houses are usually well swept and as clean as can be managed.

The "toilets" are usually just a hole in the floor which goes straight down into the drain underneath. During the day, to conceal it, it is often covered by . . . the kitchen stove.

The Swiss girls (there was only one of the Swiss volunteers there at the time of my visit and we all took turns at helping her) take a small group of the young children, and try to teach them constructive games. At first the children didn't even want to hold each other's hands, and many are very selfish because they have never had any toys to play with and don't know how to share. They are so used to looking after number one.

Each morning, a party of about 16 children is taken in two carloads to the beach at Trappeto to go in the sea. They are always X-rayed before going for the first time, because of the high TB rate, and there is also often the ignorance of the mother to overcome, who fears that sun, air and sea will harm the children. It was heartening to see how the sun had healed the running sores of some of the children who had been going for several days.

## Meeting a prisoner

The journey to Menfi, on the south coast, took about three and a half hours. En route I came face to face with the "Law" in action, when a "carabiniere" (armed policeman) entered our carriage with a man handcuffed to one of his wrists. The prisoner looked harmless enough, but a bit shamefaced at being paraded thus for

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The Secretary of the elementary school put his records at our disposal and patiently answered all our questions, and two peasant farmers (at considerable personal risk) came forward with details of thefts of farm stock, which were invaluable.

## Farmers' problems

The exception to the friendliness was, of course, the police, who, although outwardly courtesy itself, kept a close check on our movements. I rarely walked out of the hotel without finding one of them just "happening" to be in the vicinity. Coincidence? I rather doubt it.



A Sicilian girl of six feeds her baby sister with milk given by a social worker.



## DANILO DOLCI

One of the farmers hired a car to take us to look at the irrigation system extending from the Carboi-Bellice Dam, built three years ago to water the fields around Menfi. The driver had been instructed by the police to keep them informed by 'phone of our movements. I have no doubt that the Church and the "Signori" (the Mafia), the other two great powers in the local life, were just as interested in our movements, but no one actually interfered or stopped us from doing anything.

The visit to the irrigation system was most revealing. The canalisation has been poorly constructed, and there are many leaks which, though reported, remain unrepaired. Thus, the precious water drips out in unwanted places, where it is not only wasted but causes the heavy clayey soil to become sour and immovable. Nor has the water been brought right into the fields where wanted, unless the proprietor was rich and influential enough to persuade the authorities to do it for him (at public expense), so one gets the illogical spectacle of the rich man's fields being irrigated at the town's expense by the irrigation system which was intended to supply the small farmer's needs.

## Job to be done

With some bitterness, one farmer pointed to the property of a rich absentee landlord, watered by the system, and with a private electricity cable supplying his luxurious holiday house, installed at public expense, and passing within a few yards of the fishing village of Porto Palo, which still has no electricity supply at all.

Small wonder that there is discontent, and that political leanings are Left.

Of one thing I feel certain at Menfi: there is a definite worth-while job for the British Committee to do; and from a fair section of the population our team are sure of a sincere welcome and gladly-given help. The rest will have to be won over by careful tact and diplomacy.



## De Gaulle gets appeal to free these men

IN France the Committee for Aid to Conscientious Objectors, which includes such leading French personalities as Abbé Pierre, Camus, Cocteau, Bernard Buffet and Lanza del Vasto, has addressed a new appeal to General de Gaulle calling for the immediate adoption of legislation for conscientious objection to military service.

"It is most important," say the committee, "to terminate the Calvary of these young men—before Christmas."

"Since September 15, the date on which the Minister of the Armed Forces announced that his Department was studying a statute for conscientious objectors, the imprisoned objectors have lived in the hope of instant release.

"By adopting this statute quickly you would free immediately the first beneficiaries so that they could be re-united with their families for the end of the year festivities.

"If this statute is proving more difficult to elaborate than we imagine, then free at once, M. le President, those detained for more than 27 months—who have spent in prison a period equal to the period of military service. We ask you to do this right away and thank you very sincerely for the decision which we do not doubt that you will take."

## Prisoners for peace

READERS of this year's "Honour Roll" might be misled into thinking that only those listed had been to prison for conscience sake this year.

As far as Great Britain is concerned the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has details of over 50 COs who have already been sent to prison or detention during 1958, and there will have been others of whom it does not know. The list contains only the names of those COs who will still be there this Christmas-time.

When sending greetings and encouragement to COs in prison at Christmas, I hope we shall remember also those others who have gone before, and, until conscription is entirely abolished, those who will surely come after.—**BRYAN REED,** Secretary CBOC, 6 Fenchurch St., London E.C.3

# New challenge to conscience within the Church

OVER £1,000 has been spent on the production of 20,000 copies of a single issue magazine, "New Age for Peace," in a new drive to stir the Christian conscience on the question of survival in the nuclear age.

A symposium of articles by a large number of eminent Christians on almost every aspect of peace and war, it has been published by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation.

It presses home the need to reconsider the most vital moral issue of our time... our attitude to war.

Dr. Donald Soper, writing on "A risk with Christ," Father Trevor Huddleston on "Meet Fear with Faith," Clifford Macquire on "I don't believe in war" and Kathleen Lonsdale on "A Game of Chess?" are just a very few of the contributors.

## All denominations

Not only is the range of subjects very wide but the contributors come from almost all the denominations of the Christian Church, Anglicans, Methodists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Lutherans and Roman Catholics.

The booklet is edited by the Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, who writes in a foreword:

"The following pages present an appeal made by some of the leaders of thought

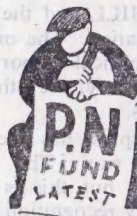
in various walks of life to reconsider the most pressing moral issue of our time, that of our attitude to war. To try to shuffle off responsibility and pretend that the problem is not so acute after all cannot be right. No man can live to-day and not make up his mind about it, for this is a question of the survival of all that is sacred and dear to us and touches the very heart of our Christian faith."

## Useful for CND

Already FoR members have let their headquarters know that they are finding this magazine of great value in backing up their work in the churches both facing Christians with the fact that pacifism is something to be considered today and in furthering the work of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

"We hope it will be of real help to those of our members working in the Campaign," an FoR spokesman told Peace News last week.

Copies will be obtainable through booksellers after Christmas.



OUR Christmas Number sees us putting the emphasis on children, on constructive work to make the world a better place to live in.

Peace News believes a war-less world is a possibility. That peace on earth, goodwill to all men, are not just pious phrases but something to aim at, something to work, for all the year round.

Peace News believes that its readers everywhere are nearer to the goal of winning their country to the renunciation of defence by military means—not the least so because non-pacifists are beginning to provide us with support.

Woolly optimism; head in the sands?

On Christmas Day we know the answer is "No!"

THE EDITOR.

N.B. And of course, we believe you will see that we reach our target of £2,000 for the Peace News Fund.

Contributions since Nov. 28: £38 6s. 7d. Contributions since Feb. 1, 1958: £1,488 16s. 10d.

Still needed £511 before Feb. 1, 1959.

Contributions gratefully acknowledged: Anon. Braseford £1.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Enquiry into Kenya trial

MR. RAWSON MBOGWA MACHARIA, one of the witnesses at the trial of Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenya African leader, has sworn on an Affidavit that the evidence he gave at the trial was false.

In the Affidavit he says that the Mau Mau initiation ceremony at which Jomo Kenyatta was alleged to be present did not take place, nor was Kenyatta ever present at such a ceremony, to his knowledge.

Together with the Affidavit, Mr. Macharia has made public the contents of a letter marked secret and allegedly written from the Attorney-General's chambers at Nairobi on November 19, 1952. The letter confirms an alleged offer to Mr. Macharia of (a) an air passage to the United Kingdom; (b) two-year course in Local Government at a University; (c) subsistence for his family for two years.

## Our Christmas Children

AS we leave childhood behind, much of the magic and excitement of Christmas disappears; Father Christmas is no longer real; we have the responsibility of getting presents instead of the thrill of anticipating them; and the family group that has been an essential part of the celebrations begins to break up.

There is little to replace the magic of Christmas for most adults. In a world of H-bombs, race riots and millions of ill and hungry people, there is not much room for fantasy. We, at Peace News, who spend most of the year protesting about these atrocities, feel this very strongly.

We do not think this is sentimental nostalgia. A world where immediate events press so hard that the imagination cannot easily function is a poor place.

Therefore, we have tried to capture the children's world with our front-page photographs (nor are we ashamed to confess that we hope our photographs will help to bring Father Christmas alive). We also want to remind ourselves of our responsibilities for the children's future.

So with Father Christmas coming down the chimney and the hope that it will be a better world by next Christmas we join with our children in hoping that this will be a happy Christmas for you.



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## PACIFISTS CAUGHT IN GUN BATTLE

SIX pacifists caught between the opposing forces in the Indonesian civil war this year have reported their experiences.

They were American members of a Mennonite team working on a medical and agricultural project in Tobelo; three COs—Dr. Hoffman, Maurice Hertzler, Chris Yoder—Mrs. Yoder, Edward Weber and Anne Warkentin, a registered nurse.

Panic broke out when news of the approaching rebels reached the town.

Patients and some of the employees left the unit hospital.

"People were using oxcarts to move their things; others were carrying bundles on their heads; others had their bicycles loaded; and a few fortunate ones had the use of a truck," Anne Warkentin wrote.

### Foxhole prepared

"Ed Weber spent a good part of the afternoon hauling people and their goods out of the town. It was a good opportunity to do a special service for the people at a time when they were frightened and frantic, and transportation was hard to get."

By nightfall of the next day only a few Chinese businessmen, a small troop of soldiers, and the pacifist unit with three faithful Indonesian workers remained in the ghost town of Tobelo.

"We don't want to be foolish in staying," Anne logged that day, "but on the other hand we feel we are as well off here as anywhere else. Moving out presents a great problem to us, as we have so many supplies, medical and otherwise. Also there is so much in the hospital for which we are

responsible and would hate to lose. However, after hearing rumours that the rebels might be here by 4 a.m. tomorrow, we decided we should have something definite in mind if they did come. It so happens that there is a nice foxhole which the students have dug between us and the nearby school. Tonight after supper we went out into the lovely tropical moonlight to prepare the place for an emergency."

### Bullets whiz

Anne continued, on the next day: "Now it has happened. The invading troops have come and gone. At about 5.30 a.m., while we were still in bed, we heard the first shot.

"All of us hit for our foxhole, and by the time Chris arrived with the (Yoder) baby we seemed to be hearing shots from all directions. In reality they were only coming from one side as the army here took to the woods without much shooting back.

"As we were listening to the bullets whizzing over our heads we were wishing we had brought a thermos of water and the nice fruit cake which the Yoders had received in a parcel some time ago. But we weren't in there long enough to require either food or water.

"After three-quarters of an hour we suddenly heard Chris say 'Ja, ja, ja,' and saw him put his hands up. Looking up, we saw two soldiers at the mouth of the hole with their guns pointed down at us. They expressed surprise at finding people, especially white-skinned ones. On being

assured that we were unarmed and that our workers were quite harmless, they told us to come out and not be frightened.

"We were led to the nearby school while they went off to the army and police barracks doing some more shooting into the air or grass. When they were satisfied that there was no one else around, we were permitted to go home and make breakfast. "About 20 of them followed us, and asked us to make them tea. Then they sort of set up headquarters and relaxed on our front porch. One of them seemed to produce a guitar from nowhere and sang some of the latest American popular songs! Others played ping-pong or started reading some of our books. They used our jeep to go about the town, but in the early afternoon they all left for Morotai again, after thanking us for everything. Our hearts well up in praise at the way we have been protected today."

Central Government troops returned later and by the time a month had passed Tobelo was back to normal.

## TORTURED TO DEATH

NEARLY two hundred young German conscientious objectors were tortured to death in Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1940.

This came to light last month at the trial of two former SS guards on charges of murdering more than 11,000 camp inmates and Russian prisoners of war.

The COs were given no food and were not allowed to sleep, the Sunday Express reported (23-11-58). Within four weeks only seven were left.

Jomo Kenyatta, the Kenya African leader, has sworn on an Affidavit that the evidence he gave at the trial was false.

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Together with the Affidavit, Mr. Macharia has made public the contents of a letter marked secret and allegedly written from the Attorney-General's chambers at Nairobi on November 19, 1952. The letter confirms an alleged offer to Mr. Macharia of (a) an air passage to the United Kingdom; (b) two-year course in Local Government at a University; (c) subsistence for his family for two years. The letter also stated that at the end of the two-year course Mr. Macharia would be offered a post by the Kenya Government.

In a Press statement issued last week Mr. Tom Mboya, the leader of the African Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council, who is now in England, says: "I call on the Secretary of State and the Kenya Government to institute, at once, an impartial, judicial and public enquiry so that the truth or falsehood of these allegations can be ascertained."

This enquiry will now be held.



"We shall have to take him to a psychiatrist—he doesn't seem to like normal toys."



## Suez

MR. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL and the Daily Express make a formidable combination. The one has a father who is the most successful political opportunist that the Western world has seen this century, the other can boast a daily circulation of four millions.

For the past fortnight the Express has been running Mr. Churchill's series on the Suez war. The articles tell us nothing important that is new, but this is the first time that there has been a frank Tory recognition of the obvious facts of collusion. It is a sickening story, and follows quite faithfully, though with less courage, the facts accepted at the time by The Manchester Guardian and The Observer.

The difference now is that after two years the crisis-ridden world cares little for the past. The Foreign Office has felt impelled to announce that the articles "appear to be in many respects inaccurate," but has refused to say what are the alleged "inaccuracies." The British Government also continues its hatred of President Nasser and its face-saving myth of the new Hitler. But there is no need to admit the truth, no effort to consider an enlightened policy towards the Middle East.

Sir Anthony Eden's chauvinism rallied much of the nation; the Government now has too much contempt for people to give them an explanation. Besides, it would be too humiliating, and in power politics that is a prime consideration.

"Was there collusion?" Mr. Churchill asks. "Of course!" He goes on to set out the well-known facts of the Franco-Israeli preparations for the invasion of Egypt, but asserts the British Government's independence from this collusion: "Eden is an honourable man, and his word must be accepted." It is very praiseworthy to trust a man; it is political innocence to trust such a corrupting influence as the exercise of power in high office. This is especially true when the meaning of the facts as set out by Mr. Churchill himself is so clear.

## Berlin

MR. KHRUSHCHOV'S initiative over Berlin has had powerful repercussions. It has found the Western Powers in a position to be expected from those who were utterly without constructive proposals for removing tension in central Europe. There will now be many long days of negotiation between the Western Powers to see if they can produce a common response to the Russian "threat" to withdraw its forces from East Berlin.

But before any such formulation is arrived at and made known, the ministers responsible for it will have been subjected to considerable public interrogation. Such an occasion was last week's debate on Europe in the British House of Commons. The Russian Government, however, suffers no such embarrassment. No doubt there was considerable discussion in the Kremlin before Mr. Khrushchov's announcement, but once the decision had been made it had to receive the support of all, for there is no provision whatsoever for any sort of democratic public debate in Moscow on Government policy.

that something more has to be done." He went on to argue for the Rapacki Plan for disengagement in Central Europe.

If the Labour Party is truly committed to the disengagement envisaged in these proposals it ought to be organising a nation-wide campaign for their acceptance as the most important feature of foreign policy in the coming six months.

It was encouraging that Mr. Bevan raised again, to the obvious discomfort of Mr. Gaitskell and Shadow Defence Minister Mr. George Brown, the entire question of the rearmament of Germany. It is clear that once the Labour Party had supported (by only a very small majority) the creation of a German army, it was only a matter of time before it would have to face the present crisis of nuclear weapons in Central Europe. The Party is now trying to dig in its heels half way down the slippery slope.

## Passing prejudgment

JUST after the Cyprus incident in which three Cypriots died in a round up by British troops, Mr. Christopher Soames, the Secretary of State for War, said it was not true that the troops had got out of hand. Last week, summing up in the inquest on the deaths, the Coroner said, "It is obvious from this inquest that during the arrest or thereafter there was used on some of those arrested a degree of force that would appear to be entirely unjustified."

Mr. Soames has not so far commented on the contradiction between him and the coroner.

On Monday, answering questions in the House of Commons, on the incidents at North Pickenham, Mr. George Ward, the Secretary of State for Air, said that the intruders "offered a great deal of very violent resistance" to the police who used no more force than was necessary to remove them. Before he made these remarks Mr. Ward had said that he was waiting for a full report of the matter.

It is possible that a great deal of violence was used by the demonstrators, though we have seen no shred of evidence to justify the charge. What we object to is the willingness of members of the Government like Mr. Ward and Mr. Soames to make statements of this kind before they have seen all the facts, and then the refusal to apologise if later enquiries prove them wrong.

Nor is this behaviour confined to members of the Government. When Mrs. Barbara Castle made charges against the behaviour of the troops in Cyprus she was immediately disowned by the Labour Party and attacked by a member of the National Executive of the party, Mr. Jim Matthews.

\*These words "very violent" appear in the Manchester Guardian report but appear to have been deleted by the Minister in Hansard.

Now that the inquest has proved Mrs. Castle's charges to be correct, can we expect an apology from the Labour Party and Mr. Matthews?

It is no wonder that people in this country are cynical and apathetic about politics when this dishonesty and lack of common decency is so common. France has shown what happens to spineless and dishonest politicians. If we want to retain any claim to be a democracy we had better do something quickly to make honesty and decency words that people can believe in once more.

## Democracy censored

THE British Board of Film Censors have refused the East German film about General Speidel "Operation Teutonic Sword" a certificate on the grounds that it makes serious allegations against a living person who cannot reply to them.

We do not completely understand the reasons for this decision. Does it mean that since serving generals do not usually join in public controversy no criticisms can ever be made of them? Or does it mean that since generals are unlikely to make films no film can be made about them?

Since democracy will only work effectively if there is constant criticism of the activities of public figures and institutions, either of these reasons suggests that one of the main functions of the British Board of Film Censors is to stop democracy working effectively.

If we look further at the Board's decision we see that it rests on a very undemocratic assumption. That assumption is that people who see the film will accept the allegations wholesale. We have always assumed that when people hear serious allegations made they want to investigate them further. General Speidel's help is not needed for this. The story of his career is and has been easily accessible.

It is particularly important to challenge the film censors on this issue since the cinema is one of the media with the largest popular audience. It is not good enough to say that this country is democratic because the Observer or the Third Programme can raise vital issues. We can only say that when these issues are raised in the popular Press and in the local cinema. When that day comes we suspect that the British Board of Film Censors will no longer exist.

IN PERSPECTIVE

## THE RELEVANCE OF CHRISTMAS

By Stuart Morris

"Each side made observations on both the documents while maintaining their basic

need is not to "maintain our basic position unchanged," but to make our policies conform to Christian principles and to refuse to tolerate a double standard of morality. The consequence in international politics of



Powers in a position to be expected from those who were utterly without constructive proposals for removing tension in central Europe. There will now be many long days of negotiation between the Western Powers to see if they can produce a common response to the Russian "threat" to withdraw its forces from East Berlin.

But before any such formulation is arrived at and made known, the ministers responsible for it will have been subjected to considerable public interrogation. Such an occasion was last week's debate on Europe in the British House of Commons. The Russian Government, however, suffers no such embarrassment. No doubt there was considerable discussion in the Kremlin before Mr. Khrushchov's announcement, but once the decision had been made it had to receive the support of all, for there is no provision whatsoever for any sort of democratic public debate in Moscow on Government policy.

Public discussion is, of course, no insurance against incompetence or downright deceit. Most people, moreover, are sufficiently regimented and distracted in a highly centralised and competitive society to be little interested in the details of seemingly abstract matters of supreme international importance. But the existence of procedures of open debate and criticism are greatly preferable to an imposed acceptance.

In the House of Commons last week it became apparent that the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, has no constructive British plan for the Berlin problem. The one hopeful sign in his speech was an indication, which he refused to clarify, that the Government has now recognised what even much of the British Press has accepted: that fears in the Eastern bloc of NATO troops in a United Germany being stationed right up against the Polish border are valid and worthy of attention.

But he dismissed plans for disengagement with the astonishing argument of the safety of the "direct confrontation of the major parties." Mr. Lloyd has an unfortunate reputation for ineptitude, but this sort of staggering calculation appears to damn any hopeful change in Central Europe.

## The Opposition

THE OPPOSITION'S position is of much greater interest.

Previously Mr. Gaitskell had given his apparently instinctive support for the Government's foreign policy. This is precisely what he did at the breaking of the Suez crisis—before he realised the widespread disgust at and opposition to the Government's belligerent policy.

Mr. Bevan now saw the danger to his Party: "We do not wish the Government to have the right to say that the Opposition are united with them in opposition to the Russian proposals in the existing context. We consider

Nor is this behaviour confined to members of the Government. When Mrs. Barbara Castle made charges against the behaviour of the troops in Cyprus she was immediately disowned by the Labour Party and attacked by a member of the National Executive of the party, Mr. Jim Matthews.

\*These words "very violent" appear in the Manchester Guardian report but appear to have been deleted by the Minister in Hansard.

# THE RELEVANCE OF CHRISTMAS

By Stuart Morris

*"Each side made observations on both the documents while maintaining their basic positions unchanged."* —Daily Telegraph

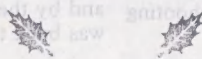
No sentence could explain more simply why the world remains poised between the threat of total war and the hope of total peace.



That procedure at international meetings, miscalled conferences, prevents any peaceful progress. So long as representatives are mainly concerned to manoeuvre for positions in procedural wrangles and are then impervious to suggestions from the other side, the method of conference is denied.

The impact of a new principle which can break the deadlock is essential.

Christmas gives the key to those who want to unlock doors. Little use for angels to tell men not to be afraid unless they announce how it can be done. When there was no reason for men to hope, God intervened. "When all was sin and shame, a second Adam to the fight and to the rescue came." God comes into the arena of strife, and man in the person of Christ steps out of the vicious circle of fear. Into a world in which power was the standard of greatness and violence the final arbiter, into an occupied country in which men longed for freedom, into a political scene in which men were being counted like so many sheep, God comes with the revolutionary demand that power should abdicate in favour of love and that men should overcome evil by good.



The assertion that in a wicked world the best that man can do is to choose the lesser evil cannot be maintained in the face of Christmas. That God does not wait until man recognises Him, that Christ is ready to be born in a manger and die on a cross validates the prayer "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Yes, here and now, by you and me, which those who bid us be content with the lesser evil deny. Christ rejects the lesser evil along with the greater in the appeal to repent which is the password to His Kingdom and in the challenge of His way of seeking it.

There is the relevance of Christmas in 1958. The

need is not to "maintain our basic position unchanged," but to make our policies conform to Christian principles and to refuse to tolerate a double standard of morality. The consequence in international politics of doing to others as God has done to us at Christmas would be the adoption of the principle of unilateral action. God always acts ahead of man's readiness to accept and regardless of the consequences of his refusal to do so. If Britain were Christian its Government would require no other reason or condition for doing the right thing than that it was the right thing to do, where right does not mean what is expedient but what God wills. For that it is not necessary to trust others to do likewise, but to have unlimited trust that God knew what he was doing on that first Christmas morning.

Love means readiness to negotiate and willingness to be reconciled. If governments would accept that aim at summit talks and conferences and agree to an independent chairman who could explain each side to the other and seek to draw both together, deadlocks could be resolved and the international situation transformed.

If that seems too simple and ordinary, remember that the Babe of Bethlehem seemed unworthy of serious consideration, except to the few who were looking for redemption and the one who wanted to kill Him before he could grow up and challenge authority. Men are too ready to expect God to come in the big way which will attract attention as though He was some Father Christmas arriving at a big store to advertise his wares. Men assume that the more powerful they are the greater their use to Him and that His way of life depends on the ability to defend it by violence rather than by the readiness to practise it.

God comes in the still of the night to call attention to the full meaning of Love and to initiate the work of mediation and reconciliation. That is the essential fact of peacemaking. In that is the relevance of Christmas 1958, for He remains our Peace.



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# Christian Comment on Gandhi

By the Most Rev. T. D. Roberts

**Archbishop of Sygdea**

*The writer, a Roman Catholic, was Archbishop of Bombay from 1937—1950.*

MY first public address on war was a broadcast in September, 1939, at the request of All-India Radio—then virtually a department of the British Government of India—on the aims of Britain in World War II in the light of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching on non-violence.

Presumably it did not displease the Government, for the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow had it sent to various neutral or isolationist centres including the USA. I was no less anxious to satisfy Gandhi because his seemed to me the best application of Christ's example and teaching to the problem of modern war.

I took the line that the war then beginning in defence of Poland represented the minimum of force without which the Nazi-Fascist philosophy of violence would infect the souls of free men everywhere. Our choice was for some violence in self-defence as the only possible price for teaching non-violence to our children.

## THE GREATER DANGER

But I had my misgivings. My memories were still vivid of the world war begun 25 years before as "the war to end war." Those intervening years had not ended war, but amounted to 25 years cold war. Hitler replacing the Kaiser. Worse even than the concentration camp and the gas chamber was the danger that the crusaders of freedom would be infected by the very disease they were attacking—the deification of war not in theory but in practice—so that we came to adopt, one after another, the very courses we had condemned in the enemy.

Here I ask leave to quote Fr. L. C. McHugh, of the Editorial Board of the Jesuit Weekly, "America," of November 18, 1958. He is but summing up the teaching of religious thinkers of the past 20 years, many non-Catholics, not a few Catholics on the Continent, of all too

few in England and America, who see with him that the

"strategic thinking of modern large-scale war has severed its ties with all the rational aims of just war in the traditional sense. Worst of all, the majority of our people have somehow been conditioned to look with complacency on strategic concepts and war objectives which are completely unrelated to the demands of essential morality. What is the moral status of total war? What judgment shall we pass on mutual suicide among States?"

"In the radio talk over WMAL last month, William J. Nagle, Consultant to the Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, took note of the appalling lack of concern among religious-minded people over the moral aspects of all-out war. He charged that Protestants, Catholics and Jews have let this rupture with tradition go uncriticised and unopposed. To a large extent, Mr. Nagle felt the responsibility of public apathy toward the moral crisis of war lies at the door of American educators, writers and religious leaders—the very people who should be most effective in forming the conscience of the community.

"Why are professional moralists and theologians so silent?"

One reason is that, like most other human beings, they pass through the thought barrier much as air passengers today pass through the sound barrier without having shared the tribulation of the pioneers who first achieved the "impossible."

To take one example, one of the very rare books on the subject published by Catholics is Père Régamey's "Non-

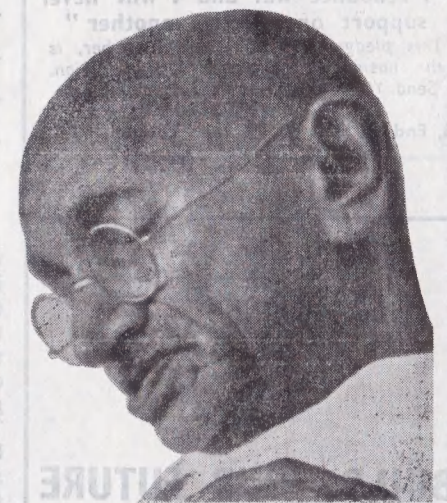
Violence et Conscience Chrétienne" (Editions du Cerf, Paris). Within a few years no one will find in his examination of Gandhian non-violence in relation to Christian principles anything remotely shocking. Yet this is his fourth version after three had been rejected by censors—priests liable to conscription, to leave their ministry of healing to kill (of course in self-defence) in defiance of the Church's law for her clergy.

## THE BOMB AND SLAVERY

Latin priests are as liable to be conditioned by circumstances in their attitude to conscription and conscientious objection as the German bishops and priests who, in two world wars, taught the duty of dying for Germany in self-defence; or as Italians justifying killing first with, then against, Germans.

Such facts, incidentally, help to explain why Sir Stephen King-Hall finds that appeals for disarmament on purely religious grounds are not taken seriously as are his pleas on purely strategic grounds. A lifetime of meditation (including a whole day weekly) and prayer about non-violence based largely on the Gospels convinced Gandhi that hardly any organised Christian body except the Quakers really faced up to the implications of Christ's teaching and example on non-violent war against evil.

An English adaptation of Père Régamey's important book should be less scholastic in approach, more concrete in such illustrations as America has in her Civil War of a century ago. Those who want a morally clean bomb on the ground that it is not intrinsically evil might be reminded of half the population of



America fighting to the death for retention of slavery.

To call slavery intrinsically evil is forbidden to the Christian: Christ refrained from condemning it, the Apostles worked to sanctify it—but only because and as long as slavery remained so deep in the very structure of society that it could not be bombarded from outside. It had to be first understood within, then hated, then thrown out.

## THE MORAL ARGUMENT

Probably, Catholics quoted Popes for and against slavery (e.g., in Papal States) just as Catholics now are quoting Popes for and against retaining nuclear bombs.

Incidentally, if vested interests in the very heart of the Southern States pledged them to fight for slavery, what of our vested interests in "defence"—billions poured out all over the West? About a hundred dollars, it is said, for every dollar spent in war against Eastern poverty.

If all believers in the fundamentals of morality work together, they may find, in moral argument against war, guidance as welcome as the plan for flying proposed to the aviator by his plane's designer.

## INTO THE H-TEST AREA

The H-protesters talk of their voyage

Last Spring the voyage of the Golden Rule to the US nuclear testing area in the Pacific received world-wide publicity. After the crew were arrested on the high seas and jailed in Honolulu, the crew of the Phoenix of Hiroshima,





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*The Captain of Phoenix, Dr. Earle Reynolds, of the US Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Japan, was arrested after penetrating 65 miles into the testing area.*

*Last week members of the two crews discussed their story with Peace News in London.*

**JIM PECK** (of Golden Rule crew): When our crew left jail in Honolulu we pledged that our number one item of business would be to mobilise support for the case of Earle Reynolds at his appeal.

**Albert Bigelow**; The first thing we should have said about Earle Reynolds is his address: Post Office Box 5199 Honolulu, Hawaii. But Barbara Reynolds is the one to tell this story. . . .

**Mrs. Barbara Reynolds** (of the Phoenix): At the moment we are waiting for an appeal. My husband was found guilty in the local court in Honolulu and he is out on bail.

Unfortunately, although we crew all made the protest together, he was singled out to bear the brunt of the accusation.

We've had a tremendous number of letters. The general tenor of them seems to be that people feel grateful to us for having taken our definite action, and many of them expressed the feeling that we were acting for them too.

**Jim Peck**: There are many important constitutional issues involved in this case. It is not merely a case of reversing the 60-day sentence imposed on Earle Reynolds, but in particular it's this issue: does a nation have a right to poison the air and the water outside its territories, and to allot itself a space of land for that purpose? Does a nation have the right to seize its own citizens on the high seas?

**Barbara Reynolds**: And I'm very dubious of our right to move people off Trust Territories and blow up their property.

**Jim Peck**: It's not realised, even in the United States, what unlimited power the Atomic Energy Commission has. They have the power to act even without the law.

**Albert Bigelow**: When the Government found that the pressure of the Golden Rule slowly sailing towards the area was a moral pressure which was intolerable, they had to do something, and since they lacked a law they made one up.

Let's hope there's a flotilla protest next time! But let's hope first for success at the Geneva Conference.

**Barbara Reynolds**: The Phoenix certainly was very well publicised in Japan.

**Albert Bigelow** (Captain of the Golden Rule): It was definitely played down in the United States. There's no question about that.

But the Golden Rule's voyage was a major breakthrough in the Press blanket and in people's thinking in peace education, though perhaps we are not the best ones to judge that.

Younger people particularly want to hear about it. There's a very significant movement of changing opinion in the United States; and Honolulu was moved. After all, the Reynolds were moved—right into the testing area!

We were locked up in our cells one night when there was an exceptionally large



At London Airport on November 29, Alan Lovell, Assistant Editor and Hugh Brock, Editor of Peace News (left) greet the H-protesters. From left: George Willoughby, the Editor's son, Mrs. Reynolds, Jim Peck, Niichi Mikami and Albert Bigelow.

nuclear explosion visible in Honolulu. Barbara Reynolds was there, and also was near one in the area when they sailed in.

### The super-blast

**Barbara Reynolds**: Most of the testing was being done in the Marshall Islands at Eniwetok and Bikini, but towards the end of the series they moved their base of operations to 700 miles from Honolulu.

The first blast from there—a high-altitude blast—was clearly visible from Honolulu. There had been no warning that such a thing could possibly be seen at such a distance, so that the people of Honolulu who did see this blast which was clearly,

violently visible, thought that perhaps Pearl Harbour had been attacked again.

Switchboards were swamped with panic-stricken calls, and there was a tremendous uproar. . . .

All radio communications were knocked out for a couple of hours throughout the Pacific after the first blast. They expected some disruption after the second, but communications were out for 14 hours, and all planes were grounded.

If these high-altitude weapons, which are supposed to be our protection, are going to disrupt our communication system, then, from a purely practical standpoint, what happens to our elaborate alarm network?



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TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—III

# A CELL OF GOOD LIVING

By Margaret Tims

IS it true that the traditional crafts of the English countryside are dying out, and the values which gave them meaning are already dead?

Not, at least, in one village of the Cotswolds. And not, if Mary Osborn can help it, in many more. This pacifist pioneer in the revival of village life has been working for 16 years from her tiny thatched cottage at Laverton, near Broadway, Worcs., to create, in the words of Eric Gill, "a cell of good living in the chaos of our world." The measure of her success may be judged by the demand for the work to continue and develop: a demand that is only unfulfilled because of lack of adequate accommodation.

This is why the Stanton Guildhouse Trust was constituted in August last year, and an appeal launched for £20,000 to build a residential craft centre at the neighbouring village of Stanton.

An excellent two-acre site, which was the gift of Miss Florence Rowbotham, J.P., of Bramhall, Cheshire, has been cleared by voluntary labour; a building has been designed in traditional Cotswold style using local materials; approval has been given by the planning authority; a sum of £2,200 has already been collected towards the cost; and, says Mary Osborn confidently, "we hope to start building in the spring."

What is the purpose of this "Cotswold Adventure," as Miss Osborn has described it in a booklet about the scheme? The same purpose as that of all life: to create.

It has nothing to do with the kind of arty-craftiness which is unrelated to the basic needs of life. It is not an attempt to turn back the clock, but rather to counter-balance the encroachments of the machine and mass-production by upholding the expression of inner values through creative work.



THE adventure really started not in a village at all, but in the back streets of East London, when in the 1930s Mary Osborn and a friend rented three rooms from Muriel and Doris Lester, founders of the Kingsley Hall settlement, in order to teach unemployed men such



Two Laverton girls wearing pixie hoods and mittens they made themselves from raw wool.

and knit themselves scarves, mittens and hoods. "It's become almost a uniform in winter," says Mary Osborn. "All the children are wearing their own work."

Some of the older girls founded a Spinners and Weavers Guild, and when a friendly farmer at Stanton offered a room for woodwork a Toymakers Guild was formed. One war-time Christmas the toys for a whole children's ward of a London hospital were the gift of the boys from these two villages.

Later a larger room was found and the men and older boys formed a Woodworkers Guild. It was a great setback when the premises were lost through the death of this benefactor, and the woodwork has since been suspended. The acquisition of a Guildhouse is therefore not a pious hope of future expansion but an urgent necessity in order to maintain work already started.

The spinning and weaving has continued in Mary Osborn's small cottage, where she now runs eight classes a week for both children and adults. The children pay a penny for their class, and they also have a collecting box for the Guildhouse: last time it was opened it contained £8. The youngest started coming when she was four, having walked a mile from the next village.

bring together for recreation and study people of different aptitudes, ages, social groups and races.

It can also be a centre for recuperation, since crafts have a definite therapeutic value. Many cases of mental and physical strain, Mary Osborn feels, could be saved from breakdown by opportunities for this kind of relaxation and spiritual refreshment.

Most of all, perhaps, she stresses the need for the provision of interests in the countryside to match the attractions of the town, and so offer some check to the urban drift of population with its consequent de-vitalising effect on village life.

It is particularly important for young people to have a centre of culture within the village, to provide not only fellowship and a sense of community but a constructive outlet for energies that may otherwise be turned towards destruction. "Here, surely," she says with passionate conviction, "is the answer to the teddy boy."



THERE is nothing of the amateur about Mary Osborn, although she works, in the deepest sense, for love. Her own faith springs from Christianity that is expressed in the Benedictine motto *laborare est orare*: to work is to pray. She maintains the highest standards of work, and one of her rugs has been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

An exhibition is to be held at Stanton in the spring to encourage wider interest in the Guildhouse project, which already has the backing of the local education authorities.

Mary Osborn is also bringing out a book for parents and teachers next year, to be called "When Children Worship," with original hymns and music by the late Sir Hugh Robertson.





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In 1941, when the war had solved the unemployment problem in a rather different way, the two friends moved to the Cotswolds, determined to earn a living by spinning and weaving and at the same time, it was hoped, to re-kindle the interest of the villages in these crafts which had traditional roots in that part of the country. Their position was not made easier by the fact that both were avowed pacifists, and one was a German-speaking Swiss. But children know no prejudice, and it was mainly through the children that the gates of friendship were opened.

Girls, and boys too, soon learnt to gather wool from the hedges, wash it, colour it with local vegetable dyes, spin it into yarn,

men and older boys formed a Woodworkers Guild. It was a great setback when the premises were lost through the death of this benefactor, and the woodwork has since been suspended. The acquisition of a Guildhouse is therefore not a pious hope of future expansion but an urgent necessity in order to maintain work already started.

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The cottage also houses a large Danish loom, a printing press, and eleven spinning wheels—including the wheel presented to Gandhi by Indian students during his stay at Kingsley Hall. One of her treasured exhibits is a hank of cotton spun by him on this wheel. She is also proud of the fact that she gave his first spinning lesson to Wilfred Wellock.

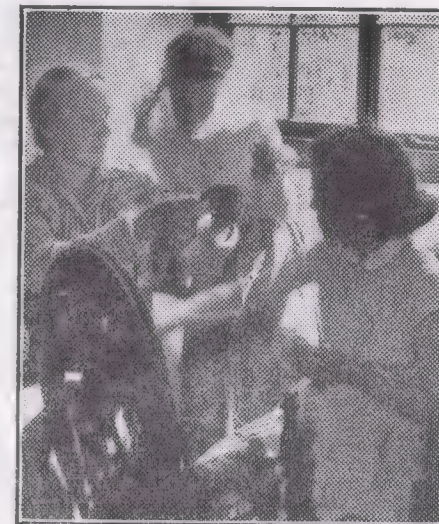


**I**N addition to spinning and weaving, the Guildhouse will offer facilities for pottery, woodwork, printing and puppetry. Tuition will be given in all these crafts, and hospitality provided for visiting craftsmen, families, students and children. The centre will

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Mary Osborn giving instruction.

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## A SONG OF COLOUR

By Wilson Macdonald

*This song was inspired by the news of the exclusion of Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama. It was originally published in the "Toronto Star" and reprinted in "The Junction."*



Four White Men climbed  
to Heaven's throne;  
and each man went  
on his way alone.

The First man said,  
when he came back:  
"The God I met  
was very black;

"But when He spoke,  
His teeth flashed white,  
like a row of pearls  
against soft light."

The second Man cried:  
"The God I saw  
had skin as yellow  
as the sun on straw.



"But when I looked  
in His strong, slant eyes  
sweet lotus petals  
filled all the skies."

"God's face is brown,"  
the Third Man spoke,  
"like autumn leaves  
on a great, bronze oak.  
"And His eyes are deep  
like bottomless wells,  
and His words are like  
a chime of bells."



"The God I saw,"  
the Fourth Man said,  
"wore a feather plume,  
and His face was red.

"His eyes were quiet,  
like forest aisles,  
and a wildwood rose  
was in His smiles."

I gaze from my window  
as I write;  
and I know, as I look  
through the smoke-filled  
light,  
why none of the Four  
said, "God is White."





# Students say 'No' to Governor Faubus

**10,000 IN BIGGEST RALLY SINCE THE 1930s**

IN my last Letter which dealt with the US election results I pointed out that today's chief domestic issue is southern school integration—with the US Supreme Court heading the pro-side and Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas, the anti-side.

A critical juncture was reached at the opening of the present school year when Governor Faubus (also Governor Almond of Virginia) closed the schools rather than comply with court-ordered integration.

In protest, there occurred on October 25 the biggest American youth demonstration since the 1930s—the Youth March for Integrated Schools. As one of the adult co-ordinators who participated, I can vouch that it was impressive.

Some 10,000 Negro and white students from fourth grade to college converged on the nation's capital by bus and car. The younger children were accompanied by their parents.

From the heart of Washington the students marched down Constitution Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial, a giant outdoor arena, historically associated with the Negro struggle for human rights.

There they heard A. Philip Randolph, labour leader and veteran to the civil rights campaign; Jackie Robinson, first Negro to play in major league Baseball, and other speakers plead for school integration and denounce the southern political leaders who are defying the Supreme Court.

Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violent action, was unable to participate because he was recovering from a stab wound inflicted by a crazy woman after the mass rally in New York where the Youth March was launched. His wife flew from Montgomery to Washington to deliver his message personally.

The one sour note at the rally was a report by Harry Belafonte, well-known singer, on how President Eisenhower had

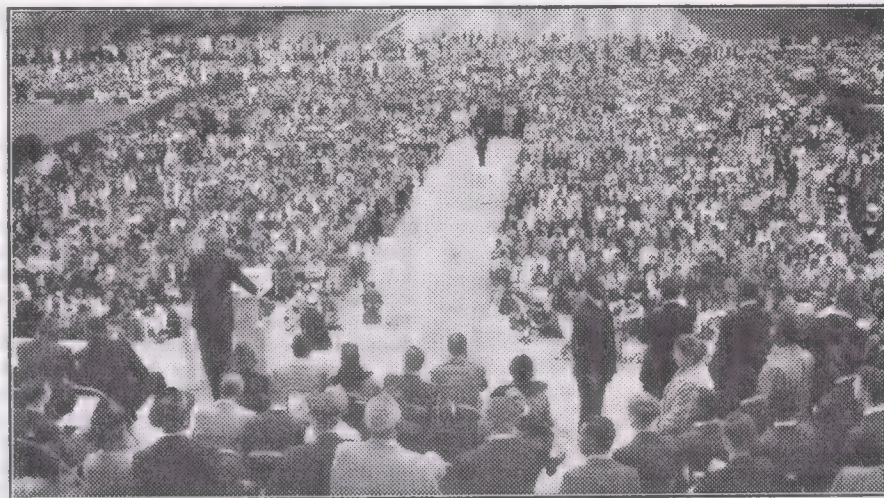
March, Jackie Robinson was summoned to Washington by Fred Morrow, President Eisenhower's assistant on Negro affairs. Morrow charged that the Youth March was probably Communist-led.

When Robinson asked for proof Morrow pointed to a bulky manila envelope on the desk. Robinson wanted to inspect the contents, but was told the information therein was confidential. Before Robinson left, Attorney General William Rogers 'phoned the office to caution Robinson about getting mixed up with "the wrong people."

Robinson departed unconvinced. The attempt to scare him into quitting the Youth March had failed. However, this

didn't stop the Attorney General from trying to get Roy Wilkins, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People to withdraw. For this task he tried to enlist the support of Thur-

good Marshall, prominent NAACP attorney, implying that the March would constitute an act of ingratitude for the Justice Department's rôle in the integration issue. Wilkins did not quit the March.



The crowd in the arena at the Lincoln Memorial.

## A MESSAGE TO PEACE NEWS READERS

### *Christmas Opportunity*

ALL over the world Christmas offers the opportunity for an Armistice in our Cold Wars—whether international, local or personal. An Armistice that might even, through the power of love symbolised by the Child born in Bethlehem, develop into "massive reconciliation."

So, in the abiding hope that the message of Christmas may transform these enmities into friendship, I send a greeting on behalf of Peace News and its Board to our known friends and our unknown critics. First comes a special word of gratitude and good will to the Editor, staff and voluntary workers at Peace News office who constantly put in overtime in order that the paper may reach its readers both at home and abroad.

To all those readers go also greetings and thanks, and not least to our supporters in North America amongst whom I am spending this Christmas. Without you we could not continue our work—and without us, we suspect, you would soon become conscious of an unwelcome break in your knowledge and contacts. May your numbers increase rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic, and thus help us to make more real and spread more widely the message of Christmas throughout the year.



VERA BRITTAIN

Concluding, apparently, that the attempt with Jackie Robinson had been too crude, James Hagerty, presidential secretary, 'phoned to "apologise." He said further investigation had shown the Youth March was not Communist-led. However, he then tried to get a Negro reporter on the New York Post to persuade officials of the Youth March to call it off because it would embarrass the Republican Administration's action in favour of integration (he did not say what action). The reporter declined.

This same Hagerty, when asked by newspapermen about the presidential snub of the youth delegation, claimed that he knew nothing about the Youth March until the very day it took place.

The rôle of the Democrats in trying to capitalise on the Republican Administration's actions was equally unsavoury. Carmine DeSapio, Democratic political boss in New York, offered to finance a Youth March rally on the eve of Election Day to protest against the Republican snub. As I pointed out in a previous Letter, the Democrats' civil rights policies are governed by the party's pro-segregation leaders in the south.

The Youth March was but another in-



play in major league Baseball, and other speakers plead for school integration and denounce the southern political leaders who are defying the Supreme Court.

Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violent action, was unable to participate because he was recovering from a stab wound inflicted by a crazy woman after the mass rally in New York where the Youth March was launched. His wife flew from Montgomery to Washington to deliver his message personally.

The one sour note at the rally was a report by Harry Belafonte, well-known singer, on how President Eisenhower had snubbed a delegation of eight young people. The delegation included Minnie Jean Brown, who braved mob violence in Little Rock's Central High School last year and a number of courageous students involved in the school desegregation situation.

When the youth delegation, headed by Belafonte, arrived at the White House they were told they could not see the President. Belafonte asked if they could present a statement to an assistant to the President. The guard at the gate denied this request. Incredulous at such a reception, the young people waited for a half hour and were rebuffed again. They then proceeded to the Lincoln Memorial rally.

The presidential snub was not accidental: It was a climax to the shabbily, unsavoury rôle played by the Republican Administration. Several weeks prior to the Youth

**MABEL EYLES (DUPLICATING, SHORTHAND, TYPING, TRANSLATING) 395 Hornsey Rd, N.19, MOU 1701.**

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To all those readers go also greetings and thanks, and not least to our supporters in North America amongst whom I am spending this Christmas. Without you we could not continue our work—and without us, we suspect, you would soon become conscious of an unwelcome break in your knowledge and contacts. May your numbers increase rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic, and thus help us to make more real and spread more widely the message of Christmas throughout the year.

Finally, at this season, we remember also in our thoughts and prayers those who oppose or misunderstand the task that Peace News endeavours to fulfil. If you knew us better we believe that you would appreciate our purpose, and we hope that, before next Christmas, some at least amongst you will become our readers and join our company.

For each one of us Christmas 1958 brings a new inspiration, and a new turn of the road towards our goal.

**VERA BRITTAIN,**

**Chairman, Peace News Directors.**



**VERA BRITTAIN**

### Thanks to the GPO

ONE of the Christmas greetings I want to send is to the Postmaster-General or whoever it is on his vast staff in London who sees that letters from abroad which are addressed simply to "Peace News, London," or "Peace News, England," reach us with so little delay.

The GPO's excellent service stands out in sharp contrast to that of a number of other countries in the Commonwealth where the slightest inaccuracy or inadequacy in an address results in the return of quite costly airmail letters and packets.

So here's a "Thank you" from Peace News to the G.P.O.!

### Cheaper by the dozen

ONE of the pleasant tasks of an editor of Peace News is the reading of mimeographed newsletters from peace groups and community ventures the world over.

Here is a gem from Koinonia Farm's report of the arrival of a new family in their

Negro and white settlement in Georgia . . . "It consists of Mama and Papa Baer (Edna and Alan) and 12 little Baers: Ruth, Miriam, James, Moses, Mark, Naomi, Luke, Zenas, Ammon, Amos, Jonah and Joel.

"How a family of 14 functions is still something of a mystery to the rest of us. For example, when the community bell rings for breakfast at six o'clock each morning, a child fully clothed seems to pop out of the Baer den every 10 seconds, beginning with the youngest, who is just able to walk, until last of all Mama and Papa Baer emerge as calm and unruffled as a still lake at midnight.

"Though we haven't located it yet, the rest of us, who have only two to four children, are sure they have some kind of a dressing chute where clothes are fed in automatically and drop around the youngster as he runs through it. Moreover, their house is always one of the neatest on the place, inside and out. It just goes to prove that they're not only cheaper by the dozen, but better."

A classic understatement is sandwiched in the same bulletin: "Apart from a couple of shots at John Gabor while he was grinding feed, and a pot-shot at Clarence on the

papermen about the presidential snub of the youth delegation, claimed that he knew nothing about the Youth March until the very day it took place.

The rôle of the Democrats in trying to capitalise on the Republican Administration's actions was equally unsavoury. Carmine DeSapio, Democratic political boss in New York, offered to finance a Youth March rally on the eve of Election Day to protest against the Republican snub. As I pointed out in a previous Letter, the Democrats' civil rights policies are governed by the party's pro-segregation leaders in the south.

The Youth March was but another instance of how, as I stated in my last Letter, "Neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party will act on this all-important issue (school integration)." But the youth movement for integration continues, regardless.

Most significant action at the Lincoln Memorial rally was an enthusiastically adopted resolution to return to the nation's capital in even greater numbers in the spring and to pursue the campaign until school integration in the South becomes a reality.

tractor as he cultivated corn, there has been no violence since our last newsletter."

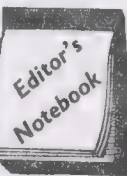
Folk at Koinonia are not so completely absorbed in their own contribution to a non-violent society that they can't find time to help on the broad front.

Clarence Jordan, in between dodging potshots, has spent three days delivering an annual lecture series at Martin Luther King's church in Montgomery, has been speaking to students of Harvard Divinity School, and at a young people's rally in Minneapolis.

### PEACEMAKERS HERITAGE No. 5

#### The highest law

*Disobedience to the law of the State becomes a peremptory duty when it comes in conflict with the law of God. . . . A Satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience to the highest law, that is, the voice of conscience which overrides all other laws. Civil disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course, it becomes degrading and despicable if its civil, i.e., non-violent, character is a mere camouflage.*  
—M. K. Gandhi.





# ALL THINGS COMMON \*

By Reginald Reynolds

YEARS ago, when I had more time for arguments, I used to get involved periodically in that discussion about primitive Christianity and Communism—the discussion in which, sooner or later, somebody says that the early Christians are disqualified as Communists because they were only waiting for the end of the world, anyway.

Curiously enough, it wasn't the local Marxist who wanted to disqualify the early Christians. He was quite willing to give them party cards. The man who got hot under the collar at the thought of early Christian Communism was always a latter-day Christian of impeccable respectability, who had been reassured by a theologian about those awkward passages in the Acts of the Apostles.

One was assured that—according to theologians of repute and the best New Testament scholars—the early Christians could be exonerated. They were victims of an understandable and pardonable error, because they believed that the Second Coming was due, in a spectacular manner, at any moment. Had they known that they were mistaken about the time table they would not—so the argument goes—have been so foolish and unworldly as to share out their property, the rich making a common pool with the poor. They would have been piling up treasure for moth and rust.



This argument so impressed me—for it was put by people of much greater knowledge than I possessed at the time—or since, come to think of it—that I came to accept it, reluctantly, though I had a sneaking wish that it could be disproved. It seemed that, after all, the early Christians were under a compact (based upon an illusion) to love each other in a practical way because nobody thought they would have to keep it up very long. It was like a premature death-bed repentance, which a man is liable to regret if he finds that, after all, he is not dying and has many more years for doing ill.

So the Best Authorities, to my bitter disillusionment, went on to explain that

abiding citizens were out of step. Their own society was theocratic and claimed its marching orders from Christ.

The end of the world and the Second Coming still raise some difficulties, and all the more so because the Second Coming appears to have taken place at Pentecost; and no early Christian, surely, doubted the living presence of Christ in his Church. Has that belief changed? Not in theory. All that changed was the belief in the nearness of the end of the world. But today, with the prospect of the world ending any time, there has been no attempt to revert to the Christian Communism of the first century, and this I find curious.



If the scholars were right in attributing Christian Communism to a mistaken form of spiritual insurance, why is the stock market so busy today? Does the same cause no longer produce the same effect?

"If yuh ain't got education yuh sure have to use your brains." It is a terrible thing to disagree with scholars about their own subject, but I think there must have been a mistake somewhere. I begin to think that the early Christians were Communists *not* because they were packing up for the end of the world, but (quite irrespective of their opinions about that) simply because the Second Coming, for them, *had already taken place*.

They may have been, and probably were, "other worldly"—but it is quite certain that the experience of Christ had made them *un*-worldly. A belief in the imminence of the "end of the world" will never make people good. It can, however, frighten them into not thinking about it—which is the position today, and one reason for the difficulty of persuading people to face certain stark realities. But a consciousness of the living Christ would change not only individual lives—it would re-mould the whole social pattern, as it did in the Christian groups of the first century.

So if we really want people to live better lives it is no good telling them—either as a threat or a promise—that the end of the world is coming, because that is

OWLGLASS

## RED IS THE FLAG, BUT REDDER THE HERRING

AS the managing director of a big advertising agency, I welcome all the current warnings against this new invention of subliminal propaganda. Besides, I like a good laugh.

I only wish my old friend Goebbels had lived to hear it. He'd have laughed himself sick—particularly to hear top-level political journalists and leading Labour propagandists solemnly warning the country against the "new" menace of brainwashing.

You've read about it, of course. It is presented as a scientific intensification of publicity techniques, worked out in consultation with expert psychologists, which by its direct appeal to the subconscious causes the public to absorb ideas and impressions all the more readily because they are unaware of it.

It has created quite a panic on the Left. It has led to a widespread re-reading of "1984," and long quotations of it, under scare headlines, in progressive papers. All around I hear people anxiously telling each other—"This is what Orwell warned us against, and it's happening already."

The general idea is that Democracy is on the verge of collapse, and thousands of good democrats can feel the hot breath of Big Brother on the back of their necks.

Pardon my merriment.

At this point I perceive a puzzled frown ruffling the normal serenity of my readers' brows.

Why, you ask, if I am in favour of brain-washing, do I welcome these warnings against it?

Well, I don't mind telling you. Christmas is here, and I am in an expansive mood.

You see, when all's said and done, of all propaganda techniques none has proved more successful right down the ages than the good old Red Herring.

And what is happening now is that

all these panicky warnings against a new and more subtle and dangerous technique are drawing attention away from the old well-tried techniques which have proved so successful hitherto, and making them easier than ever to operate.

So that today, thanks to our efforts in the past, thousands of people who are goggling with horror at the new brain-washing menace, are totally unaware that they have been going about for years with brains that are whiter than the whitewash on the wall.

What need, therefore, is there for a new cerebral detergent? What could possibly be more effective than the techniques we have? I need give only one example of their efficiency.



For years almost the entire population of this country have harboured the unshaken belief that the Russians are solely responsible for the Cold War and that the Communists were solely responsible for the Korean War, and have unprotestingly allowed their national economy to be crippled in order to pay for their defence against an enemy who has never had the slightest intention of attacking them.

What greater triumph of mental enslavement could any dictator or publicity agent ever hope to achieve than this, which makes Titus Oates, Dr. Goebbels and the Politburo look like bungling amateurs?

And what, one may ask, is there left for any new brain-washing technique to do? It is a foolish washerwoman who would attempt to cleanse the driven snow.

Yet how was this brain-laundering miracle achieved? Simply by the old familiar methods of press, platform and pulpit.

As a Chinese visitor said to me after he'd read carefully through a dozen English newspapers—"I thought my shirt was white until I examined the brains of Western Democracy."

## LETTERS TO THE



This argument so impressed me—for it was put by people of much greater knowledge than I possessed at the time—or since, come to think of it—that I came to accept it, reluctantly, though I had a sneaking wish that it could be disproved. It seemed that, after all, the early Christians were under a compact (based upon an illusion) to love each other in a practical way because nobody thought they would have to keep it up very long. It was like a premature death-bed repentance, which a man is liable to regret if he finds that, after all, he is not dying and has many more years for doing ill.

So the Best Authorities, to my bitter disillusionment, went on to explain that (when the End of the World never came) Christians in time decided that they had started loving their neighbours altogether too precipitately. They reverted to private property and, in succeeding generations, played an important part in the structure of feudalism, capitalism, empire building and other profitable enterprises.

I find this such a dismal view of Christian history that—in spite of the factual armoury with which orthodoxy is supplied—I try to escape from its implications. One way is to consider a long succession of heresies of which there were always some which harked back to the Golden Age of the Apostles. The difficulty of this approach is, of course, that it implies a March of Time in which the regiment was invariably out of step.

Well, I say, what about it? When the Christian era began, the regiment consisted of Orthodox Jews, and later of Graeco-Roman pagans. And the first Christians certainly had the impudence to suggest that these solid bodies of law-

★ (Act II, 44 and IV, 32

“other world”—but it is quite certain that the experience of Christ had made them *un-worldly*. A belief in the imminence of the “end of the world” will never make people good. It can, however, frighten them into not thinking about it—which is the position today, and one reason for the difficulty of persuading people to face certain stark realities. But a consciousness of the living Christ would change not only individual lives—it would re-mould the whole social pattern, as it did in the Christian groups of the first century.

So if we really want people to live better lives it is no good telling them—either as a threat or a promise—that the end of the world is coming, because that is one of the things they are determined not to think about. People have always known that they must die some day, but the thought has had little influence on behaviour—partly because it is kept out of mind most of the time. But those who have found something to live *for* and live *by* are the really creative people.

I don't mean that they just have a “change of heart.” That is good, but not enough. Some American once said “A change of heart is no more redemption than hunger is dinner.” The hunger of the early Christians was satisfied because they not only found new values (something to live *for*) but new power (something to live *by*).

The meaning of the Second Coming today is not the catastrophic picture given in Revelations. It is not the sequel to Armageddon but the alternative. And the thing we need to find out about those early Christians is not what scared them into being temporarily good, for fear never made *anybody* good. It is the nature of a joyous knowledge which transformed their lives, making them want to share everything they had.

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## LETTERS TO THE

### ‘Operation hatred’

I AM sorry that Ian Hyde is unable to see the perfectly plain point of my article “Operation Hatred”; I have read it again very carefully, and cannot see that it is in any way unclear. I am, in fact, saying that people can be inoculated with hatred by propaganda methods for the purposes of war, and my quotation from Montgomery hammered the point home.

I do not accuse Eisenhower or Montgomery of being un-Christian or inhuman; the words are not mentioned, nor referred to anywhere, and, in fact, I am sure that they have as much right as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop Makarios to claim to be Christian.

However, that was not the point of my article and it was not mentioned in it; it has merely been dragged in by Mr. Hyde, for the purpose, it would seem, of introducing an argument of his own which is irrelevant to my article.

If he really feels respect for the writer who thinks those tales I mentioned funny, and worth recording, then he and I must agree to differ in regard to the meaning of the word “respect.”

I have read with care and great interest each week in The Sunday Times extracts from Montgomery's Memoirs, and I can only say that I am appalled by the egotism and arrogance of the man, and confirmed in my abhorrence of the whole military machine.

I feel no compunction whatever for trying to make readers of Peace News see and understand the fact that millions in this country were indoctrinated into loving Russia up to 1945, and are now being indoctrinated into hating Russia in readiness for the next war.

That was the point of my article and I

can only hope that though Mr. Hyde failed to see it, others will not.—**SYBIL MORRISON**, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

### Christus Victor

MAY I congratulate you on your initiative in reviewing “Magazines of Moment.” It appears that one sentence must have been transposed in printing, since we read at the end of the section on “Christus Victor,” “Don't be put off by its rather unattractive appearance.”

If, by chance, your reviewer should have intended this sentence to refer to “Christus Victor,” we shall be happy to enter a competition judged by any independent typographer or lay-out artist to demonstrate that the appearance of “Christus Victor” is as attractive as any other comparable publication.—**PHILIP EASTMAN**, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 185 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

Peace News asked Britain's leading typographer, Allen Hutt, Editor of the “Journalist,” to comment on Christus Victor. He writes:

*I don't know why the Peace News reviewer described Christus Victor as “rather unattractive.” What did he want? Something, as they say, more “contemporary”—a booming, heavy sans-serif or “Egyptian” treatment, set asymmetrically and with smart colour contrast? I think any such presentation would be entirely out of place for the quarterly journal of a religious body like the IFoR.*

*Christus Victor is an unassuming, neat, workmanlike job in the ever-readable Times Roman throughout. The use of Eric Gill's superb Perpetua Titling for the title-line seems to be absolutely right. Of course there are a number of fine points of detailed improvement which an expert*

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# SWAFFHAM DIARY

Saturday, December 6

**L**ONDON THAMES-SIDE. A black, bleak December morning. 6.15 a.m. A group in old clothes waits for a coach to Norfolk. We pile in, 27 of us. Average age about 28. Two coaches to follow. Ours is the advance group of volunteers for direct action at North Pickenham Thor missile base. A four and a half hour journey.

Stop for breakfast. Further halts to pick up more volunteers. 10.45 a.m. Past a wayside war memorial. Jesus in agony on the Cross. "To the glorious memory of the . . ." Scarlet poppies. "Lest we forget." We are in the heart of rocketland.

11.10 a.m. Arrive at Swaffham. Straight to a local cafe for final briefing. Everyone hands in money (in case of court fines) and addresses of relatives. Are there police spies in the room? We don't think so.

12.15 p.m. Public meeting outside in market square. About 200 there. Small market town of 3,000. Loud speaker. Several messages. Everyone is looking at a gigantic six-man banner in English, French, German, Russian: "People of every nation! Refuse work on nuclear weapons."

Most of the national Press seems to be here. Some looking for news, others for trouble. One of them asks me a question. He leers. It's a monstrous suggestion.

## Press are waiting

1.15 a.m. We march out of Swaffham. Someone rings a bell. A neo-Hailshamite? First the advance group for civil disobedience. Numbers now up to 46. A van, recording equipment, cine cameras. Fifty yards behind the second group of 76 supporters. Three and a half miles to RAF North Pickenham—the base.

A pale sun comes out. Our coats are hot. Along narrow country lanes. An AP cameraman lines up five schoolboys on bikes across the road with slogans against the demonstration. "These pictures are mainly for abroad," he explains to me with a self-satisfied grin. I run on ahead to the airfield entrance. "Warning—Restricted Area. No Entry Without Permission" say large notices.

All the Press are waiting for the kill. "I



By Christopher Farley

want them to fight, scuffle, anything . . ." one of them is saying. "Firemen turn hoses on girls—that's our story today" comes the reply. The advance party comes up the hill. Cameramen climb everywhere. The group waits for three minutes in silence before entering the area. No fencing, just notices.

"Police dog patrolling" threatens a large notice. They march up to the main gates. The second party keeps on the road. The eleven-foot gates are locked. Two RAF men standing inside. A walkie-talkie jeep.

## Over barbed wire

Suddenly the group wheels right. Pre-arranged. Over five-foot barbed wire and into a field of mud. Skirting the eleven-foot netting we march round to a gap with only barbed wire. It is flattened with a long poster. Over we trample.

We are now in the missile base. Four unarmed guards inside. They stop the leaders. The rest march on. The guards

PEACE NEWS—December 12, 1958—9

## The woman in the moon

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

"**T**HINGS are getting more difficult for me every year," said Santa Claus to the Woman in the Moon. "Last Christmas I was making my way down to the World when I nearly collided with the Russian Sputnik.

"It's still going round and round, and I hear there's a smaller American one going round too. How can I continue to visit the World every Christmas if I've got to dodge these things?"

"There are rockets, too," said the Woman in the Moon. "I don't travel to the World these days and so the Sputniks don't worry me. After all, they just go round the earth and don't interfere with me. But I don't like the latest news that they are now trying to fire rockets at the Moon."



"It may be a long time before they do it," said Santa Claus. "The Americans don't seem to be succeeding. You shouldn't get too worried about this publicity in America, they've got to do something to keep up their spirits. They are still angry because the Russians succeeded with their Sputnik first."

"But the Russians might be thinking about it," said the Woman in the Moon, "and you can never tell what they are up to."

"There might be something in that," said Santa Claus reflectively. "But they don't seem to be so interested in the Moon."

"I hope the Chinese won't start thinking about it," said the Woman in the Moon: "they used to be interested in Astronomy."

"You needn't worry about them," said

give up in despair. The leaders catch up. An RAF fire tender turns a large hose on the column. Torrents of water. Everyone marches on, drenched, unperturbed. Again prearranged.

I am taken into custody by the RAF. Then an American journalist. The column makes straight for the central concrete

Santa Claus. "They've enough to do for a very long time, and they're too wise to worry about outer space until they all have enough to eat, and there are 600,000,000 of them. Why did you come to live here, anyway?"



"It was hundreds of years ago," said the Woman in the Moon, "and I wanted to live in peace. I could see how things were going in the World and I didn't want to live there if it was going to be nothing but wars, wars, wars, with all the hatred and cruelty and suffering. One war after another and the same old politicians telling the same old lies. So I came here for rest and quiet and thought I was safe and well out of it for eternity."

"You never know what they will do next down there," said Santa Claus. "I've been going there every year for a long time now and every Christmas they talk about 'Peace on Earth and Goodwill towards Men,' but there's precious little of it."

"But why do they bother about the Moon," said the Woman in the Moon. "Haven't they got quite enough to do with their own problems without interfering with us? There are millions of them without enough to eat, there are famines and floods and plague and disease and dirt. Why can't they change these things before they think of coming to the Moon?"

"I don't know," said Santa Claus. "I think I'll make some enquiries when I'm there at Christmas."

"Do," said the Woman in the Moon, "and tell them when they've made a good job of the earth, they may be welcome here. But not before."

sible volunteers get back in front of the lorry. Fighting breaks out among the workers themselves. They are clearly divided.

The police come and take away four of the leaders of the protest. Cameras flash as Quaker Will Warren is dragged away by two Norfolk police.



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## EDITOR

### Operation Hatred Christus Victor

might suggest . . . But these do not question the present main design which I consider at once apt and (I'm pretty certain) economic. That last aspect is of major importance for modest journals of this sort, emanating from organisations which cannot afford expensive production.

### Denouncing evil

I CANNOT understand Ian Hyde's "Operation Hatred" against, first, Sybil Morrison, and then Peace News. It is not un-Christian to denounce evil. The Founder of Christianity denounced the money changers in the Temple. Neither Christianity nor Pacifism consists in being all things to all men.

To prosecute war is always un-Christian. We can quite believe that Eisenhower and

Montgomery attempted, in the last war, to do what they thought to be right, but not from the Christian standpoint. No one can have it both ways. Not even the professional soldier. And how blurred the distinction between Christian soldiering and murder has now become—in Cyprus, for instance!

Then how, exactly, should the pacifist meet Eisenhower and Montgomery halfway, and how far on the road to the pacifist position will Eisenhower and Montgomery travel?

I am at a loss. I ask for enlightenment.  
—MARJORIE HAMLIN, 89 Southwood Lane, London, N.6.

## Rocket base protester free on Christmas eve

TED OLSON, arrested in a non-violent protest action against the construction of a rocket base in Cheyenne, Wyoming, USA, will have completed his 124-day sentence on Dec. 24.

He chose to serve his full term rather than pay any fines: 100 days for \$100 fine, 4 days for \$4 costs, and 20 days for an additional \$20 fine for contempt (he told the judge he would return to the base even if prohibited by court order).

Christmas greetings may be sent to him by air letter to Laramie County Jail, Cheyenne, Wyoming, USA.

He can receive unlimited letters.

### NOT THE EDITOR

The Rev. A. D. Belden is author of "Pax Christi," not editor of Christus Victor as stated in last week's PN.

There might be something in that. But they don't seem to be so interested in the Moon." "I hope the Chinese won't start thinking about it," said the Woman in the Moon: "they used to be interested in Astronomy." "You needn't worry about them," said

give up in despair. The leaders catch up. An RAF fire tender turns a large hose on the column. Torrents of water. Everyone marches on, drenched, unperturbed. Again prearranged.

I am taken into custody by the RAF. Then an American journalist. The column makes straight for the central concrete mixer. The water tender disappears. Three hundred yards to the mixer. Arrive there OK.

## Labourers go mad

Work in progress. Lorries loading up with concrete. Everyone squats in front of lorries. The workers appear to go mad. Most are Irish labourers.

They turn their own water on the group. Icy. The women are mostly left alone. They throw the men into a pool of concrete and water about eight inches deep, then drag them out by their hair. One worker is kicking everyone viciously.

Nobody offers any resistance (a point which the Press ignores). Whenever pos-

can't they change these things before they think of coming to the Moon?" "I don't know," said Santa Claus. "I think I'll make some enquiries when I'm there at Christmas." "Do," said the Woman in the Moon, "and tell them when they've made a good job of the earth, they may be welcome here. But not before."

sible volunteers get back in front of the lorry. Fighting breaks out among the workers themselves. They are clearly divided.

The police come and take away four of the leaders of the protest. Cameras flash as Quaker Will Warren is dragged away by two Norfolk police.

## Squatters at the gate

The rest of the group is obviously outnumbered and unable to prevent the work continuing. The county police come and take away the rest of the group. Many of them squat outside the main gates. Several have dirt in their eyes. Two are detained in hospital.

The supporting group marches back to Swaffham. The Press all say they are disgusted by the violence of the workers (but we don't see this in most reports next day). Squatters at the gate all filthy and frozen. They are dragged aside whenever traffic comes.

Now to sit out the night. Another action tomorrow at dawn. . .

## Christian Pacifism

By Edgar W. Orr. 12s. 6d.

A comprehensive survey of the problem, starting with the Old Testament teachings and passing to the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles, the teachings of the Early Church and through the Middle Ages, to the Quakers and the Gandhian Technique up to World War I and World War II.

"But this is not only a text-book for the pacifist, and it is certainly that: it is also a most persuasive presentation of the case for Christian pacifism for the enquirer and a challenge to the unconvinced. Pacifists would do well to ensure that it is widely read."—PEACE NEWS.

## The Recovery of Culture

By Henry Bailey Stevens. 21s. 0d.

Foreword by Gerald Heard. Shows how primeval man left his garden culture and became a flesh-eating and war-making animal, the results of which are to be seen in many of the evils from which we suffer today. The complications and inevitable results are to be seen in such diverse phenomena as cancer, soil erosion, nationalism, neuroticism, urbanisation and many others.

## Which Kingdom?

By C. D. H. Boram. 4s. 6d.

"The challenge of pacifism to the Church. The Christian Pacifist has undoubtedly a strong case, and Mr. Boram presents it forcibly."—Times Literary Supplement.

## Pennsylvania 1681-1756

By E. Dingwall. 3s. 6d.

A state that did without an army. An attempt to group together certain recognised facts about William Penn's experiment.

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"War on war!" it is certainly our own. (Pope PIUS XII)

Recent issues of PAX BULLETIN (quarterly) have included articles  
by Archbishop Roberts, S.J., Fr. Franziskus Stratmann, O.P., Dom  
Bede Griffiths, O.S.B., Fr. J. F. T. Prince and Fr. John Fitzsimons.

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Donations gratefully received

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Progressive Reduction of All Conventional Armaments and  
for a Firm and Lasting Peace

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vegetarians to join us in the New Year

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FOR  
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during



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## INTERNATIONAL

59

extends sincere greetings to all its contributors, and all of those who would have contributed except for the lack of an extra 5s.

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**THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION** wishes all readers of *Peace News* **A HAPPY CHRISTMAS**

and invites all who have not done so to sign the Christmas Card renouncing war and to join in working for

**PEACE ON EARTH — GOODWILL AMONG ALL MEN.**

*A Pledge Card and further information will gladly be sent on request*

Within what it is hoped will be A HAPPY NEW YEAR all members are specially invited to the 22nd ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING which will be held at Bristol on April 18 and 19, 1959, and to the SUMMER HOLIDAY CONFERENCE ■ Pantyfedwen, Borth, Wales, August 15-22, 1959.

IF YOU are not in touch with your local group : have recently changed your address : would like a supply of leaflets and posters : will arrange  
■ Peace Forum or other meeting in your district or

IF WE can help you in any way, please write to the GENERAL SECRETARY, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 ENDSLEIGH ST., LONDON, W.C.1, who will also gratefully acknowledge your CHRISTMAS GIFT for—

## PEACE THROUGH TOTAL UNCONDITIONAL UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT BY BRITAIN



## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

### Friday, December 12

**LONDON, W.1:** 7.30 p.m. Universities & Left Review Library, Partisan Coffee House, 7 Carlisle St. Discussion on Algeria. Speaker from Movement for Colonial Freedom. LPF.

**LONDON, W.8:** 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

### Saturday, December 13

**BIRMINGHAM, 15:** 3-8 p.m. Beehive, Bishops-gate St., W. Midlands Area PPU Christmas Party. Pooled Tea, Adults 2s., Children 1s. Bring & Buy Stall. Film Show. Endsleigh Cards on Sale.

### Sunday, December 14

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. Rev. G. E. Neely. "The Advent Message for the Pacifist."

### Monday, December 15

**HEREFORD:** 7.30 p.m. No. 1 Committee Room, Town Hall. Dr. E. W. Malcolmson, Rev. R. J. Billington, Mr. S. Beaumont, Peter Carter. Chair: E. J. Thurston OBE. CND.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appellate Tribunal.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. Refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Max Parker on Current Affairs. Central London PPU.

### Wednesday, December 17

**LONDON, N.4:** 7.30 p.m. Peace News Offices, 3 Blackstock Rd. Francis Jude on the work of Friends Peace Committee. PYAG.

### Thursday, December 18

**LIVERPOOL:** 8.15 p.m. Friends Mtg H., Hunter St. Discussion on "Education for Peace," led by Coun. Mrs. Wormald. Business Mtg. 7.45. PPU.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

### Saturday, December 20

**LIVERPOOL:** 22: 7.30 p.m. 3A Courtney Rd., Waterloo. Social evening. Bring and buy stall. 2s. 6d. inclusive. PPU.

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## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

Sunday, 3.30 p.m.: December 14  
FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

32 Tavistock Square, Euston

Discourse by Rev. G. E. Neely

"The Advent Message for the Pacifist"

# Accra will speed the African revolution

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

IN England our minds are turning from politics to Christmas. Decorations are going up in the streets, the shops are gay with gifts. Mothers are making their lists of presents and cards, children are informing Father Christmas at chimneys what they want in their stockings, fathers are calculating what it will all cost.

But political events do not stop. Indeed, in Asia and Africa December is the month of great occasions.

My most memorable Christmas was at Madras in 1928, when I was to have attended the Indian National Congress. I was astounded by the preparations. Thirty thousand delegates and visitors were expected. A small city of temporary houses and a vast hall were built for them. The railway was extended to the site and a special station opened. What a mighty movement Congress was... Alas, I never got to the assembly. Instead, I spent Christmas in hospital, consoled by visits from Gandhi and Nehru.

This week a congress of even greater significance to the cause of national liberation has been held. It is probably not an exaggeration to describe the conference at Accra as the most important gathering for racial emancipation ever held. Only two gatherings can contest that claim.

The first was the Bandung Conference of Asian and African Governments four years ago. It represented Governments associated with the West, Communist Governments, neutral Governments, and achieved the miracle of reaching unanimous conclusions on international issues.

The second gathering represented the Governments of the eight independent countries of the African Continent, and was held a year ago, also at Accra. The

morning, that I was present! Two of my Parliamentary colleagues, Mr. Robert Edwards and Mr. Will Griffiths, were more fortunate. They were in West Africa and were able to attend as fraternal delegates from our British Movement for Colonial Freedom.

It was the African representation which was of course the most important.

## Non-violent resistance

A thousand delegates declaring their determination and unity, looking forward to the realisation not only of independence but of the ultimate creation of a United States of Africa. What an inspiring occasion!

The conference did not just indulge in distant prospects. There were issues in Africa far too urgent to allow that. There was Algeria, a desperate immediate problem, seen not as an integrated part of France, but as an independent State, to become integrated with its neighbours, Tunisia and Morocco, in a North African Federation. There was Kenya, where a new crisis has been reached, with all the non-European groups, African, Asian, Arab, calling for a Round Table Conference—the majority (but not all) of the European representatives and the Colonial Office refusing. There were Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, where the Africans are beginning to despair of progress by constitutional means. There was South Africa, where that despair has already become deep.

One of the interesting features of the conference was the reaching out to a policy, in countries where constitutional advance is blocked, of non-violent resistance on the model set by Gandhi in India.

Tom Mboya, the African leader in Kenya,



## CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Important. All copy for classified and displayed advertisements, and diary notices, for insertion in the issue of December 25, must reach us by Thursday, December 18.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

## ACCOMMODATION

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OLD JORDANS HOSTEL (Quaker Conference Centre) has a few dates still free for conferences, house-parties or retreats. Maximum No. 28. Write the Warden, Old Jordans Hostel, near Beaconsfield, Bucks.

## PERSONAL

BOXING/XMAS DAY hospitality offered youngish person. Phone Molsley 1185 evenings.

FAULKNER. December 7. To Hugh and Anne (nee Milner) Faulkner, of 156 Hainault Road, Romford, Essex, a daughter, Jane Elizabeth.

GOING ABROAD? Maintain, advocate and urge liberty of freedom to travel without vaccination, invoke Clause 83 International Sanitary Regulations. Enquire, and/or send donation, National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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YOUNG MAN, AMERICAN, 25, Vegetarian-Pacifist; good-natured and intelligent; desires correspondence with young lady of similar views, preferably in America, with view to marriage. Box 804.

## LITERATURE

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FREE INTRODUCTION. Send us the names and addresses of friends likely to be interested in Peace News. They will receive complimentary copies and an invitation to take eight weeks' trial subscription for 2s. 6d. Sales Organiser, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly, 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.



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Discourse by Rev. G. E. Neely  
"The Advent Message for the Pacifist"

Christmas Greetings to THE  
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in various ways during the last  
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THE CHILDREN JOIN US IN  
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The second gathering represented the  
Governments of the eight independent  
countries of the African Continent, and  
was held a year ago, also at Accra. The  
Governments differed in their international  
alliances, but, once more, unanimity was  
achieved in a declaration for the freedom  
of all Africa.

### African representation

Nevertheless, this week's conference  
seems to me to have been more historic.  
It is true that it represented Africa only,  
but Africa is now the main scene for the  
struggle for racial liberty and equality.  
This importance was illustrated by the  
observers present from India, China, Russia,  
America, Britain, the United Arab Republic.  
I was startled to read in The Times, travel-  
ling from Grimsby to Derby on Saturday

groups, African, Asian, Arab, calling for  
a Round Table Conference—the majority  
(but not all) of the European representatives  
and the Colonial Office refusing. There  
were Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia,  
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deep.

One of the interesting features of the  
conference was the reaching out to a  
policy, in countries where constitutional  
advance is blocked, of non-violent resist-  
ance on the model set by Gandhi in India.

Tom Mboya, the African leader in Kenya,  
who was one of the outstanding figures at  
the conference, is thinking in terms of such  
positive action if hope of advance through  
the European dominated legislature comes  
to a dead end, though he is striving to  
prevent this. The African Congresses of  
Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are also  
feeling their way towards this strategy, if  
circumstances force it on them. Discus-  
sions outside the conference as well as  
within have helped to clarify ideas and  
plans.

A second feature of the conference was  
the preparation for the union of States as  
they become independent. The establish-  
ment of the United States of West Africa  
has for many years been the vision of  
Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou-Touré and George  
Padmore. Beyond, they have looked to  
the United States of the whole continent.

The first steps towards the former, at  
least, have now come within the horizons  
of the practical by the association of Ghana  
and Guinea, Togoland and the Cameroons  
are likely to follow within a few years.

There are difficulties. Nigeria will for  
some time be concerned about its own  
problems of internal federation. French  
West Africa, including the Ivory Coast  
which separates Ghana and Guinea, voted  
in the De Gaulle referendum for continued  
association with France. But the idea is  
born and it will grow.

The full effects of the Accra Conference  
cannot be judged immediately. Its impact  
will vastly increase the tempo of emancipa-  
tion throughout the Continent. Even those  
of us who are devoted to the cause of  
colonial freedom are in danger of failing  
to understand the speed and the strength  
of the African revolution.

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### SITUATIONS WANTED

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m.  
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## To see women MPs about H-test danger

AS Peace News went to Press on Wednesday, 11 distinguished women supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were meeting 28 women MPs at the House of Commons.

They will be drawing attention to:

1. The genetic and health dangers involved in both the testing and use of nuclear weapons.
2. The dangerous moral and emotional effects on the young of continued tension, and undefined threats to their possible children.
3. Increasing uneasiness among ordinary women that the food they buy for their families is being contaminated.

The deputation will consist of Dr. Janet Aitken, CBE; Dame Peggy Ashcroft, actress; Mrs. Diana Collins, Christian Action; Mrs. Dorothy Hodgkin, FRS; Dr. Storm Jameson, writer.

Miss Margaret Lane, writer & journalist; Miss Marghanita Laski, writer & journalist; Dame Kathleen Lonsdale; Dame Alix Meynell; Miss Iris Murdoch, novelist and lecturer; Dr. Antoinette Pirie.

## Briefly

A number of Quaker Meetings in the Los Angeles area are planning to hold a service at the site of the Lompoc Missile base on Sunday, December 21.

The following Conscientious Objectors who were not included in our Prisoners for Peace list will also be in prison at Christmas time. They are Raymond Fordham, H.M. Prison, Eastchurch, Sheerness, Kent, and Robin Castle, H.M. Prison, Brixton, London, S.W.2.

# What really happened at the rocket site

Peace News Reporter

**ANY suggestion that violence was used by the demonstrators at the North Pickenham missile site last week-end was categorically denied by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War on Tuesday.**

In the House of Commons on Monday the Secretary of State for Air, Mr. George Ward, alleged that "these people offered a great deal of resistance to the police."

He also claimed that "on Saturday the police were able to prevent a serious clash between contractors' employees and the demonstrators."

Forty-six volunteers entered the base under construction and attempted to stop the work by non-violent direct action.

Four weeks' advance public notice of the project was given by the Committee, and the police were also given a week's notice. The volunteers for the entry had a lengthy briefing a fortnight before the event and again last Saturday. There was no attempt at secrecy.

Some reasons for undertaking civil disobedience were put by the Chairman of the Direct Action Committee, Michael Randle, at the public meeting in Swaffham on Saturday.

"Certain activities," he said, "can never be democratic however many people support them—arbitrary imprisonment, the persecution of minorities, preparations for the wholesale slaughter of civilians. It is because nuclear weapons deny those values which are the essence of democracy that we feel impelled to take direct action and obstruct the preparation for their use."

*A description of Saturday's events appears on page nine.*

## A worker brings tea

When the demonstrators reached the central concrete mixer at the missile base on Saturday they were met with violence by some of the workers. The RAF and the police made no attempt to intervene for about twenty minutes, when the police dragged away four leaders of the demonstration. Nobody resisted the police, but several demonstrators "went limp" as an

base and was ashamed, after the violence, that he worked there. He had not thought that the British people could treat each other in such a manner. He offered to take volunteers into Swaffham for a bath, and drove one of the volunteers the three and a half miles.

A senior RAF officer drove demonstrator Francis Hoyland to hospital. (He has since been discharged; Chris Kershaw, who was also detained in hospital, was expected to be discharged Tuesday.)

Some of the workers were clearly surprised by the completely non-violent attitude of the demonstrators (an unconfirmed report states that they were told Communists were coming), and fighting broke out amongst the men during Saturday's sit-down at the concrete mixer.

## Demonstrators talk to workers

On Sunday morning there was a second entry into the missile base, again conducted non-violently throughout. The conduct of the RAF police was very reasonable, with the exception of that of one or two RAF personnel who, on orders from one of their officers, dumped project-leader Pat Arrow-smith and David Bell into icy sludge and pulled Joyce Hazzard by her hair. There were no incidents with the workers on Sunday.

Throughout the project every effort was made to convey the protestors' point of view to workers and RAF men. For example, when they were detained in the gaurdroom the demonstrators spoke to the workers as they clocked into the site.

Two further workers at the missile base, Mr. Sam Forrester, card steward of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, and Mr. Osborn, apologised to the group on Sunday for the violent behaviour of some of the workers and said that such people were only a minority on the site. The steward said he was going to take to the

the cine-film made by Barrie Dallas, well-known campaigner for nuclear disarmament. Comment in the Press varied from surprisingly favourable (Daily Herald) to trite scorn (Daily Sketch).

This Sunday the Pacifist Youth Action Group has invited on to its regular stand in Hyde Park at 3.0 p.m. a member of the demonstration team and a representative of the workers at the base.

Next week in PN: Civil Disobedience in a Democracy?—the debate opens. Also an analysis of what was learned at last week-end's demonstration.

## Back to Pickenham on Dec 20

A FOLLOW-UP demonstration at North Pickenham is planned by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War for Saturday, December 20, when a further non-violent attempt will be made to halt work at the missile base.

Volunteers should contact the Committee at 344, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 (STA 7062). Coaches will leave the Victoria Embankment outside Charing Cross Station at 6.30 a.m. and call at Stratford tube station at 7.0 a.m. Coach seats will cost 8s. 9d. return. A public meeting will be held in Swaffham at noon, and a march to the RAF missile base will leave at 1.0 p.m.

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Dame Kathleen Lonsdale; Dame Alix Meynell; Miss Iris Murdoch, novelist and lecturer; Dr. Antoinette Pirie.

## Briefly

A number of Quaker Meetings in the Los Angeles area are planning to hold a service at the site of the Lompoc Missile base on Sunday, December 21.

The following Conscientious Objectors who were not included in our Prisoners for Peace list will also be in prison at Christmas time. They are Raymond Fordham, H.M. Prison, Eastchurch, Sheerness, Kent, and Robin Castle, H.M. Prison, Brixton, London, S.W.2.

## NOT ELECTED

FRANK McMANUS did not win the seat in the by-election at Morecombe and Lonsdale as reported in Peace News last week, although he did increase the Labour vote. The seat was won by the Conservative candidate, Mr. B. de Ferranti. We apologise to our readers and the Labour Peace Fellowship for this error.

WHEN answering Ian Hyde in the correspondence columns I did not think it proper to take up an issue that was completely irrelevant to the argument of my article "Operation Hatred," about which he wrote, but the point made in the above quotation from his letter is one that is occasionally made, and therefore seems worth some examination.

I have frequently argued in this column that the most formidable obstacle with which pacifists are faced is the sincerity of those who support war, and who genuinely believe that preparation for war is the best way to secure peace.

There can be no question whatever that the majority of Army, Navy and Air Force "Brass-hats" are completely convinced, if they think in such terms at all, that what they are doing is right; whether they think it charitable or Christian is another matter.

There is no doubt that the leaders of the Christian Church, when they invoke God's blessing on troops, and on bombing aeroplanes with their crews, which carry death and mutilation to tens of thousands of completely innocent people, believe that in God's sight they are doing what He would believe to be right.

which are the essence of democracy. There we feel impelled to take direct action and obstruct the preparation for their use."

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## A worker brings tea

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On Saturday night one worker leaving the site met some 16 of the demonstrators, who were camping out by the main gates, and apologised for the violence of some of the workers. He returned shortly with hot tea for the demonstrators. In a cine-camera interview he said that he was a worker on the

pulled Joyce Hazzard by her hair. There were no incidents with the workers on Sunday.

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Two further workers at the missile base, Mr. Sam Forrester, card steward of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, and Mr. Osborn, apologised to the group on Sunday for the violent behaviour of some of the workers and said that such people were only a minority on the site. The steward said he was going to take up the matter with his union and that he had formally protested to the senior RAF police officer about their negligence.

The demonstrations made front page headlines in nearly all last Sunday's popular national Press, and were mentioned regularly on the BBC bulletins. They were also featured on Sunday's BBC TV and in nearly all of Monday's papers. Independent Television News showed on Sunday

By Sybil Morrison

## A formidable obstacle

*May we not try to realise as pacifists that Montgomery, Eisenhower and other military men were attempting, in the last war, to do what they sincerely believed to be right from a Christian standpoint. That we totally disagree with them does not mean that they cannot claim to be human and Christian.*

—Ian A. Hyde, Peace News, December 5, 1958.

That does not mean that pacifists, who believe the contrary, are to remain silent; it does not mean that they are to refrain from pointing out the incongruity of this attitude with the teachings of the Founder of the Christian Church.

There are far too many people who, in the name of toleration, seem to be willing to tolerate the intolerable; war to-day in all its aspects is not only intolerable, but completely incompatible with morality, humanity, or Christianity.

Of course we know that our democratic institutions in this country are built upon a Christian foundation; prayers are said in both Houses of Parliament every day regardless of the subjects to be debated, even when they may include proposals for testing nuclear weapons, arming Germany, sending troops to Cyprus or other preparations for war.

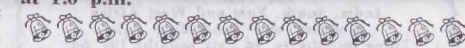
We also know that in Germany under

both the Kaiser and Hitler, prayers to God for victory were being said every day, not only in churches, but in the hearts of ordinary men and women. There can be no question that most Germans sincerely believed in their right to fight for their Fatherland.

Moreover, we know that every war has to be justified to the people called upon to fight in it, and that Christians seek to prove that Jesus would not have believed it evil under certain circumstances for peoples to take up arms against each other.

It is my view that this is to misjudge and misinterpret His whole life and teaching, but because the millions of good, kind-hearted, humane and Christian men and women, who hold to the "just war" theory, are sincere in their belief, is no reason at all for pacifists not to argue that they are wrong, and shockingly so.

It is shocking this week to read in The



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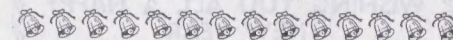
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Sunday Times that directly the war was over and Montgomery had been appointed Chief of Imperial General Staff, his main, and indeed his only concern, was to get ready concerted plans for the next war.

He no doubt believes himself to be a good Christian, and he tries as a humane man to limit casualties, but war is his job; being a sincere man he naturally endeavours to get on with his job and to do it as well as he possibly can. The inescapable fact is that pacifists want to put an end to this job, and if they are themselves sincere, they have no alternative but to reveal the truth as they see it on all and every occasion.

It may be that the "obliteration bombing" of German cities was decided upon and carried out by those who "sincerely believed it to be right from a Christian standpoint," but those of us who believe it was a crime against God and humanity cannot be respecters of persons in our condemnation of it.

Jesus himself "offended" many sincere people, but that did not cause him to water down his utterances; His teaching rings true, touch it where you will, and His example is one that pacifists will always do well to follow.

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